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that the blending which gave rise to the Hottentots is more likely to have taken place in East Africa. This is supported by the fact that the pastoral habits of the Hottentots, with all the customs and traditions connected with this mode of life, were already developed before their ancestors came south.

The most plausible theory of the racial origin of the Hottentots may therefore be that they have sprung out of a mixture of the old Bushman population of East Africa with an early immigration there of Hamites, who gave them their cattle and those peculiarities of language by which they are distinguished from the modern Bushmen.[1] So far as the slight indications of their legendary history go, they seem to have come originally from somewhere in the region of North-West Tanganyika, and to have wandered with their cattle and sheep between Lakes Tanganyika and Nyasa, and then, perhaps as the result of pressure from behind, across the high plateau of Central Africa, with their faces always towards the setting sun, until they came upon the "great waters" (i.e. the Atlantic), when they turned south, crossing the Kunene, and moved slowly onwards down the west coast of the continent.[2] How long they had been in possession of the coast regions in the south-west of Cape Colony before the Portuguese first saw them in the neighbourhood of Saldanha Bay and later on at Mossel Bay, at the end of the fifteenth century, we have no means of knowing. The few facts that lead us to judge that they had not been in the south for many centuries are based on our knowledge of their movements on the eastern frontier, where in the early eighteenth century their advance guard, formed by a tribe known as the Gonaqua, came into contact with the Bantu peoples, who by that time were slowly pushing westwards along the southern coast of South Africa.

General Distribution

The early Dutch settlers at the Cape found the Hottentots thinly scattered in small loosely-organized groups all along the western and southern coasts of the country. Later expeditions inland revealed their existence beyond the Orange River to the north and north-east, and as far as the Kei River in the east. In their occupation of South Africa the Hottentots therefore extended formerly over almost the

[1] For a more precise formulation of this theory, see Chap. III, s.v. "Relationship between Bushmen and Hottentots".

[2] Stow, *The Native Races of South Africa*, 1905, pp. 267–8; A. W. Howitt, "South-West Africa as a Primitive Culture Area," *S. Afr. Geog. J.*, vi (1923), p. 23.

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whole of the western half of the country. At the present time they are found chiefly in South-West Africa, the north-west districts of the Cape, and parts of Orange Free State. Their former distribution further south and south-east is, however, not only abundantly testified by actual historical record, but is also reflected in the numerous half-breeds who have sprung up all over the Cape as a result of Hottentot intermixture with European settlers and imported slaves. Moreover place-names of Hottentot origin occur widely spread over many districts where the Hottentots themselves are now hardly ever seen. This is the case especially in the eastern parts of the Cape, now largely occupied by Bantu peoples, where many of the rivers, mountains, and other natural features of the country have Hottentot names[1]; while the fact that the South-East (Zulu-Xosa) Bantu languages have incorporated several of the clicks as well as many Hottentot roots indicates that intimate intercourse between the two peoples must have lasted for some time before the Hottentots finally disappeared from these parts.

Tribal Divisions

The Hottentots were originally divided into numerous separate groups, each with its own distinctive name. They all, however, apparently owned to the common name *Khoi-khoin* (men of men, i.e. men *par excellence*, people of pure race), by which they distinguished themselves from other peoples. The origin of the name *Hottentot*, by which they are now universally known and often term themselves, has given rise to much speculation, and there is no single accepted view. It is generally assumed, however, that the word is derived from the term *Hôtemmiki* ("stammerer" or "stutterer"), applied to this people by the early Dutch settlers on account of the peculiar "clicks" which gave their speech its distinctive character.[2]

Both in culture and in physical features these different groups of Hottentots present a good deal of homogeneity, save where there has been much recent influence from other peoples. It is difficult

[1] Cf. Kingon, "A Survey of Aboriginal Place-names," *S. Afr. J. Sci.*, xv (1918), 710–73; Peringuey, "Hottentot Place-names," *S. Afr. J. Sci.*, xvii (1920), 334–52.

[2] The various interpretations advanced are discussed briefly by J. du Plessis, "Origin and Meaning of the Name 'Hottentot'," *S. Afr. J. Sci.*, xiv (1917), 189–93. His own opinion is that the name is derived from the words *Hotta hin* (*I Hotta Hin*), uttered by the people themselves "in connection with their ceremonial religious dances", and also "employed by them as friendly greetings".

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therefore to draw any clear-cut lines of distinction among them based on either of these factors. Their languages, on the other hand, although all very closely related, fall into four separate dialectical groups. It is customary therefore to group the people themselves into four main divisions, corresponding to the linguistic groupings. These four divisions are known respectively as the Cape Hottentots, the Eastern Hottentots, the Koranas, and the Namas.

The Cape Hottentots were the people found by the first European settlers in the vicinity of Table Bay. They probably extended over the greater part of what is now the Western Province of the Cape, and seem to have been fairly numerous.[1] The old Cape Records and the reports of early travellers have preserved for us the names of several of their tribal groups.[2] In and about the Cape Peninsula were the *Goringhaiqua* or *Goringhaikona* and the *Kora* or *Gorachouqua*; further north along the west coast from the neighbourhood of Table Bay to Saldanha Bay roamed the *Kochoqua*, who at the time when the Dutch settlement was founded were the strongest of the local groups; beyond them and extending to the Olifants River were the *Little Grigriqua* or *Chariguriqua*, while north of that river were the *Great Grigriqua*, bordering on the southernmost group of the Namas. To the east of the *Kochoqua*, again, were found the *Chainoqua*; further east and south, in what is now the district of Caledon, roamed the *Hessequa*, to the north-east of whom, probably in the present district of Worcester, lived the *Hamtamqua*, and, adjoining them, a few lesser groups. Then came the *Attaqua*, extending from Mossel Bay to near the present village of George, and beyond them, finally, were the *Outeniqua*, whose name still survives in the Outeniqua Mountains.

It is estimated by Theal, on the basis of the early records, that about the time when the Dutch settled at the Cape these different groups together must have numbered from 45,000 to 50,000 persons.

[1] There is a considerable body of literature on this division. The most useful original sources are: H. H. Grevenbroeck, *Elogium et accurata gentis Africanae sive Promontorium Capitis Bonae Spei vulgo Hottentotorum nonnunquam descriptio epistolaris*, MS. (1695), published in a Dutch translation by van Oordt under the title "Uit den Oosten Thuis", in *Het Zuid-Afrikaansche Tijdschrift*, 1888; P. Kolb, *Caput Bonae Spei Hodiernum, dat is volstandige Beschrijving der Afrikaansche Vorgebergte der Goede Hoffnung*, Nürnberg, 1719; G. Fritsch, *Die Eingeborenen Süd-afrika's*, 1872, pp. 283–340.

[2] The names of these tribes are unfortunately quite as inaccurately as inconsistently spelt in the early records that to-day, the tribes having ceased to exist, the correct version of the name according to the Hottentot pronunciation is no longer obtainable. Almost all the names are written not only without the click, but with the suffix for the third person masc. plur. (*-kwa* or *-qua* in the Cape Hottentot dialects). The variations given above are those most generally employed by the early writers.

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Nama

CHAPTER IX

Social Organization

The only Hottentot people whose social organization is at all well known are the Naman of South-West Africa, of whom a special study from this point of view has been made by Mrs. A. W. Hoernlé. The valuable description given by her[1] is supplemented in several respects by the observations of other writers,[2] so that it is possible to arrive at a fairly clear conception of the social structure of this division. The original organization of the other Hottentot peoples has long since been totally obliterated, and the information bearing upon it is too fragmentary to provide much material for discussion. As far as can be gathered, however, they appear to have had essentially the same system of social grouping as the Naman.

In the case of the latter also the old tribal system has been almost wholly destroyed. At the present time some of their tribes are already extinct, i.e. the tribal unity has been completely broken down, although one may still come across individuals claiming to belong to one particular tribe or another. Most of the Naman, in fact, are now scattered all over South-West Africa in the service of Europeans, and have no longer any tribal allegiance, for it was the deliberate policy of the German government to break up the tribes. But even where a small remnant of the people still hold together under the leadership of a man whom they regard as headman or chief, much of the old system of grouping has ceased to exist. The following analysis, therefore, relates very largely to conditions of the past.

The Tribe

The nomadic pastoral life of the Naman and the unsuitable climatic conditions under which they dwell have resulted in their distribution over the country in small scattered communities. Although it appears from the traditions of the people that they all originally belonged to

[1] "The Social Organization of the Nama Hottentots," *Amer. Anthrop.*, xxvii (1925), 1–24. Except where otherwise stated, this is the principal authority for the facts recorded below.

[2] Olpp, *Angra Pequena*, 23 ff.; Kohler, "Das Recht der Hottentotten," *Z. vergl. Rechtswiss.*, xv (1902), 337–60; Wanderer, "Die Khoi-Khoin oder Nama," in Steinmetz's *Rechtsverhältnisse von eingeborenen Völkern*, 1903, pp. 313–25; *idem*, "Ueber das Recht der Nama," *Z. Kol.-Pol.*, xi (1909), 657–86.

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the one Nama tribe, they have long since become separated into a number of distinct and autonomous groups. The indigenous Naman, or "Great Namaqua", of South-West Africa, were divided within historical times into seven main groups of this kind, with one or two later offshoots, while the "Orlams" coming in from south of the Orange River were similarly divided into five main groups.[1] Each of these groups, *Khaun*, or "tribes", as they are generally termed, has its own distinctive name, but they all speak the same language, with slight dialectical variations, and they all bear the common name of Nama. The meaning of this word is uncertain, but according to tradition it is the name of a remote ancestor from whom these tribes have all sprung.

The names of the different tribes, in the case of the Great Namaqua, appear to be derived from some characteristic feature associated with the people, and are in many cases exactly translated by the Dutch names by which the tribes are now customarily known. Thus the *//O Gein* or *Great Dunds* are the "great dead"; the *//Haboben*, or *Veldschoendragers*, are called after a kind of sandal worn by the people (Dutch *veldschoen*, Nama *//habab* or *//hawoè*); while the */Aunin*, or *Topnaars*, are the "people of the point", a reference to the fact that they inhabit the sea coast, the extreme point of occupation of the Naman. The name */Naranin*, by which this last tribe is also sometimes known, is derived from the */naras* melon, so outstanding an article in their diet.

In the case of the Orlams the native names are taken mostly from the name of the supposed first ancestor of the people, e.g. *//Khauan* from the personal name *//Khauab*, which is not now thought of as having any special meaning. There were two branches of these people, the older or the big (*gei*) branch, and the light-coloured branch (*khoi*), hence the tribal names *Gei //Khauan* and */Hei //Khauan*. The Witbooiis, on the other hand, have a Hottentot nickname, */Howesen*, from */howe* or */habe*, lazy, which they do not like at all. The Dutch names for these tribes are taken partly from the chief settlements of the people, e.g. Bethanie, Berseba, and partly from their chief leaders, Afrikaner, Amraal, Witbooi.

Traditionally all the Great Namaqua tribes are descended from one line of ancestors, the *Gei //Khauan*, */Gami /Nun*, *//Haboben*, */Khara Gei Khoin* and *//Khau /Goan* each having been founded by one of five brothers, while the *//O Gein* and */Aunin* are later offshoots from the

[1] Hoernlé, op. cit., 4-7.

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quas, Goringhaikonas, Great and Little Karkhoutquas, Houtas, Chainouquas, Kobonas, Somquas, Namaquas, Heusequas, Brigouduas, and Hankumquas. The first eight are close to the Cape, the remotest of them being not more than fifty miles away, but the rest lie further inland. The Gorachouquas, Goringhaiquas and Goringhaikonas are almost always found very near to the Cape, not more than four or five hours' journey from the Fort of Good Hope: the Goringhaikonas or Watermen, especially, are only a quarter of an hour away.

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Goringhaikonas.

The Goringhaikonas or Watermen[1]) are under a chief, whose native name is Dremtak, but our countrymen call him Klaas Das,[2]) because, having at one time committed some offence against the Dutch, he was taken prisoner and banished to Dassen Island. He was afterwards released owing to good behaviour and restored to his former position. They have a camp of only four or five huts, number about fifty souls with women and children, and are the poorest of all the Hottentots.

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Gorachouquas.

The Gorachouquas[1]) our countrymen called the Tobacco Thieves, because they once stole away all the tobacco plants

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the seal hunters to Dassen Island in 1654, and been kept there to be taught Dutch, "which he understands pretty well" (D. Oct. 12, 1654); in Sept. 1655, during the absence of Harry, he acted as interpreter for the Dutch at the Fort (D. Sept. 15, 1655). There is no record of his having been "taken prisoner and banished," as stated by Dapper. His native name is given in van Riebeeck's journal as Khaik Ana Makouka (June 8, 1658) or Khaikana Makoukoa (July 5, 1659).

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[1]) Also referred to in the early records as Chorachouquas, Chorachouquas, Goerachouqua, Gorachouna, etc. They are generally held to have been the ancestors of the modern Korana division of Hottentots (for a detailed and non-committal analysis of this theory see Maingard, *Bantu Studies*, vi, 109-114), and to have been named after their first chief !Kora (i.e. Chora); their tribal name as given in the records would therefore mean "men of !Kora" (-choqua or khoekoe, men. Maingard, *op cit.*, 111).

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000 Sy staen onder eenen overste, met name Chora, die eenen broeder heeft, geheeten Gaikeng, beide gaende in bewaerde vellen, dat grote rijkdom van vee in heeft.

Gorachouquas

De Goringhaiquas, by d'onsen Kaepmans genaemt, om dat sy het meeste alhijts van al de *Hottentots* aen de kaep van goeder hope gewoont hebben, en sich die plaets als eigen toe-schrijven, soo lang d'onsen daer gewoont sijn, mogen in volckrijckheit tegen de *Gorachouquas* op, en beide ontrent duisent weerbare mannen uytmaecken, bewonende ontrent vijf-en-twegentigh huisen of hutten, met matten overdeckt.

De Goringhaiquas staen onder eenen overste, by hen genaemt *Gogosoa*, maer by d'onsen de dikke kapitein, om sijn overgroten dikten en neerhangenden buik, ruit sijn naem met het weeren en gestalte des lijfs wonder wel over een komt.

Sy was in 't jaer seetien honderd en twee-en-seventigh, sit het overschrijven der genen, die sich toen aldaer bevonden, wel honderd jaer out, en had twee soonen, de oudste genaemt *Goringhaikona*, en d'andere *Otagoua*, welke hunnen vader, insonderheit de oudste, altijts hebben moeten t'overheeren, en geheel meester te spelen, met aenwendingh van alle middelen om desen ouden *Gogosoa*, hunnen vader, van kant te helpen, en door dit middel de heerschappye vervolgens op den oudste, en voorts op den tweeden te laten komen.

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[9]) The incident is mentioned in van Riebeeck's journal, March 11, 1657. In the list of tribes given to van Riebeeck by the Hottentot girl Eva, the "Chorachouquas" are first identified as "the tobacco thieves, the fellows who stole the tobacco out of the freemen's gardens" (D. Oct. 31, 1657).

[9]) Dapper's information is wrong; van Riebeeck says that "exclusive of women and children these Gorachouquas number from six to seven hundred men capable of bearing arms" (*Letters Despatched*, iii. 240).

[10]) Also mentioned in the records as Choeringaina, Goeringaiqua, Goringhaina, etc., a name which Wuras (*op cit.*, 288) translates as "those who dip water out of fountains," but which Maingard (*op. cit.*, 111) suggests with more probability as being equivalent to !kwiŋ //aikua, or "proud people," one of the later Korana tribes. Together with the Goringhaikona and Gorachouqua they constituted a single tribe, of which their leader Gogosoa was the principal chief; but it is evident enough from the early records that these different sections were continually bickering and fighting amongst themselves.

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from the fields of some free farmers over there,[9] and even to-day they still keep up this practice. They comprise about three or four hundred men capable of bearing arms, apart from women and children;[10] and subsist upon prime sheep and cattle. They are subject to a chief named Chora, who has a brother called Gobing; both go about in greasy skin cloaks, which are amongst them a sign of great wealth in livestock.

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Guringhaiquas.

The Guringhaiquas[11] our countrymen term Capemen, because ever since we have been there they have always lived the nearest of all the Hottentots to the Cape of Good Hope, claiming the place as their own. They exceed the Gorachouquas in numbers, both together totalling about one thousand able-bodied men,[12] and inhabit some ninety-five mat-covered huts. They are subject to a chief whose native name is Oogoma; but our countrymen call him the "Fat Captain," which, owing to his enormous fatness and protruding paunch, is remarkably apt.[13]. In 1652 he was, according to the accounts of men already there, quite a hundred years old. He had two sons, the elder named Oninghaikamma and the other Otegmoa.[14] They both, especially the former, always tried to overrule their father, old Oogoma, and to play the part of master, attempting by every possible means to do away with him, and so obtain the chieftainship first for the elder and then for the younger.[14]

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[9] van Riebeeck (*Letters Dag.*, II, 239) gives their numbers as "about 200 men capable of bearing arms." Dapper's mistake is easily understood if we assume that he or his informant confused the Guringhaiqua and the Gorachouqua in this respect.

[10] In van Riebeeck's journal he is often referred to as "the fat captain," "the fat old man," "the thick fat captain," etc.

[11] van Riebeeck's journal mentions three sons of Oogoma, viz. Oringhkhimma (elsewhere Oninghkamma), called Schacher by the Dutch; Khumma, alias Jan; and Otegmo, alias Peter (D. Sept. 28, 1652).

[14] van Riebeeck says of them in this connexion: "They are a bad lot, who do not respect their own chief Oogoma, the old man, more than a child. By birth the latter was their true chief . . . Yes! they sometimes ignored him altogether as a beggar. This had also become evident to us, so that we had daily fed him well as a poor man. That they still retain him is more for the sake of appearance than reality, as Oninghkamma, his eldest son, in playing the chief, and cared too little for his father" (D. Dec. 1. 1661).

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They subsist, close to the Kochoquas or Saldanhars, upon very fine cattle, their only hope and trust, considering that in the dry summer time they have nothing else upon which to live. 619 [231]

So much of the Hottentots named Gorachouquas, Goringhaiquas, Goringhaikonas, Kochoquas, Great and Little Karichuriquas and Hosaas, who are found close to the Cape. Further inland are the Chainouquas, Kobonas, Sonquas, Namaquas, Heunaquas and Hankumquas, although some do not include the Kobonas among the Hottentots.[1])

Chainouquas.

The people named Chainouquas[2]) in the local vernacular are at present withdrawn fully three months' journey inland, huts, women, children, cattle and all; and dwell, according to the statements of the other savages, very near to the country of the Kobonas. They do not number more than about four hundred people, but are rich in cattle. [162 231]

The Chainouquas are under a chief named Souscá, an old man, who had two wives, both now dead. He has a son, Goeboe, whose right leg was stamped upon and crushed by an elephant, with the result that owing to putrefaction he cannot now use it at all. When the Chainouquas break up their villages, this Goeboe has to ride on an ox, on to and down from which he must be lifted. His wife is named Kamisoá. The clothing of Chief Souscá is a fine leopard skin, with the spotted and more attractive side turned in, while the unsightly fleshy surface, well greased according to local custom, faces outwards. 619 622 [291]

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way for them, and come to greet the king with presents of cattle, etc., to show the obedience they owed to him" (D., Sept. 21, 1660). About 1666 the Chainouqua began to be called Soeswas, Soesequas, Soeswaquas, etc., by the Europeans, though the old chief Souuca, from whom the new name was derived, had died in 1664 (Theal, op. cit., 135; D., Feb. 23, 1664). In 1672 two leading men of this tribe, "on behalf of their minor chief Dhouw", ceded to the Dutch "the district of Hottentots Holland adjoining the Cape, with all its lands, streams and forests, together with False Bay . . . in return for merchandize amounting in value to £300. The goods actually transferred were worth no more than £6 16s. 4d. (Theal, op. cit., 200-201). The principal Chainouqua centres were at Knofflock's Kraal R., a tributary of the Palmiet R., at Bot R., and at Tigerhoek (Maingard, *S. Afr. J. Sci.*, xxviii, 496-8). 619 622

[1] [i.e. the Great and Little Karichuriquas and Hosaas.—Ed.]